of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psychological unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnonu, al), and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, returns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (e?eru, al, e?ende, bl, ?ola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (korai'su, al, kuende, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (katerisu, al, nagade, bl, tali'me, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookesu, al, lokoninde, bl), or uaguassu (aradikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, al, tagere, bl, tarki, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

593 182 462 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms [342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or [415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all [157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 831 462 542 [517] Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bi). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an [153] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

593 831 462 [83] 562 fat pieces of meat is a constantly relished dream, even though rarely realized. On the other hand, the provisions haphazardly collected are considered—and really are—the daily misery. In Nambikwara folklore, the expression "to eat grasshoppers" (tagare yirige, b1), a typically feminine and infantile harvest, is nearly equivalent to the French "to eat the mad cow" (to rough it). At the same time the woman is considered a tender and good being, but of the second [198] order. The language which she uses habitually separates her from the men and unites her with the children (in the same way that she collaborates with the children in expeditions of collecting and gleaning). We shall see later that this assimilation also continues into the metaphysical thinking and that, on this latter plan, discrimination between the sexes attains proportions whose psychological attitudes are only a derisive indication. It is considered well-bred for men to speak of women with a pitying good will, and, in conversations between the two sexes, to address them with a slightly mocking indulgence. Certain sayings are heard often among men speaking among themselves:

[538] 5. yirtnoʃunatukhne joʔotnuʃutnãdnjani denesunatukhne. (b1)
The children do not know, I know, the women do not know.

and they bring up the group of women (dosu, a1), their jokes, their conversations, with a tone of tenderness and mockery. But, of course, that is only [57] a social attitude. When the man finds himself alone with his wife around the camp fire, he listens to her complaints, considers her demands attentively, asks her help in a hundred undertakings. The male line of talk disappears, and gives way to the collaboration of two partners conscious of the essential value which they have for one another.

198 562 This ambiguity of male attitude as regards women has its exact correspondence in the equally ambivalent behavior of the female group. The women think of themselves collectively, and manifest it in several ways. In the first place they do not talk like the men. Even though a sexual language does not exist in the true sense of the word, in conversation a thousand inflections, shades of pronunciation are found which are typically feminine. Women articulate badly and affect a sort of jabbering which is reminiscent of infants' pronunciation. They whisper instead of talking out loud, and emit sounds with an affected mannerism and preciosity which are at times seductive when they are not exasperating. Thus, in dialect a1, they give words an ending —ʃu instead of the usual—su or —tu. They also pronounce—kititu, the verbal suffix which is for men, —kedjutu or —kedjuzu.

198 It is certain that they are perfectly aware of this peculiarity.
562 When one does not understand them and asks them to repeat, they exaggerate maliciously, and more each time, the style that is particular to them, and when one desists, discouraged, they laugh and exchange jokes. They have succeeded. This is especially true of young women who do not yet have children, and of young concubines. The mothers and older women stress these differences less, although one also finds them among this group upon occasion. Besides, the young women like the society of children and adolescents, play and joke constantly with them; and it is the women who take care of the animals in that very human way peculiar to certain South American Indians. All this contributes to creating a special atmosphere around the women, in the interior of the group, at the same time child-like, happy, affected and provocative, in which the men participate when they return from the hunt or the gardens.

462 But a completely different attitude is manifested among the women when they are to undertake some one of the forms of activity which are especially intrusted to them. They accomplish their tasks as artisans with ability and patience, in the solitary camp, arranged in a circle and with their backs to one another, and, during trips they [188] valiantly carry the heavy basket which contains the provisions and riches of the whole family and the quiver of arrows, while the husband walks ahead with the bow and one or two arrows, the wooden spear or the digging implement, looking for the flight of an animal [48] or a fruit tree. One sees these women then, the forehead bound with [48] the tump line, the back completely covered by the wide basket in the form of an inverted bell, walking for kilometers with their characteristic step; [58] the thighs very tense, the knees together, the ankles turned out, the feet turned in; leaning on the outer edge of the foot and moving the hips, courageous, energetic and gay. We give on the opposite page[1] a chart of the division of tasks between the sexes, but this division should be interpreted in a less strict manner than usual for phenomena of this type. Among the Nambikwara collaboration between husband and wife is carried so far that many tasks are done jointly. More exactly, if the man rarely intervenes in feminine tasks, the woman on the other hand (and above all the supplementary wives in case of polygamy) unceasingly aid their husband. We have indicated by crosses between parentheses the cases where a task attributed to one sex is occasionally practiced by the [462] other. Thus, when they are alone or among themselves, the men do the carrying, but they do not carry from the forehead (senasikitiu, al).

[1] [See p. 11. Duplicate]

462
[62] like the women, but from the shoulder (adiuisi'kititu, al), and frequently lightening the load by dragging the strap in the left hand, which they explain by saying that they need to watch out for possible game. And they naturally do not neglect collecting and gleaning whenever the occasion is presented or necessity is felt. In like manner, the women normally aid their husbands (especially the polygamous wives) in their work in the gardens. Both sexes cut down wood, the men for constructing huts or shelters and for making bows, arrows, spears and clubs, etc., and the women, more often, for the fire wood. Above all, and when she is not occupied by her own work, the woman aids her husband in all the tasks that are his. She holds his implements, gives them to him when he asks for them, supports the end of the arrow or the wood of the bow while he repairs or polishes them, or begins to twist the cord while he finishes the wooden part. She does the retouching and finishes the work. This frequent and always harmonious collaboration gives the impression that the sexual division of labor is much less strict among the Nambikwara than it is commonly, and sometimes one might even think it non-existent. This is not so; but the rule is constantly made flexible or masked by the unity of the couple.

601 As we have shown in studying the kinship system all the classifi-
602 catory contemporaries of an individual belonging to a different sex are divided by him into husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters. We have found no term which designates the actual spouse, and allows one to distinguish him in conversation from the classifying spouse. A man calls his wife or wives, and his cross-cousins (fem.) indiscriminately asiesu, as the woman designates her husband and her cross-cousins (masc.) by the same term owensaesu. But, of course, behavior is very different in the two cases. It has just been seen to what extent relationships are close and active between true husband and wife. As regards his potential wives, a man does not adopt any particular attitude, and the relationships do not seem to be either [59] [Table: Sexual Division of Labor] more or less intimate than those which he carries on with his sisters (the same remark is true as regards the relationship of a woman with her potential husbands and her brothers). In these two cases, the relationships are characterized by [60] great reserve, the individuals involved do not pay much attention to one another and rarely address one another except for definite reasons. But it is a question here of a mass attitude, conditioned by usage, rather than of an over-all picture of conscious and stylized reactions. The Indians do not seem to perceive

[Text continues on p. 67]

#942

	MAN	WOMAN
Portaging	(+)	+
Agriculture	+	(+)
Hunting and fishing with bow	+	
Collection of wild honey	+	
Collection and harvest of grains, fruits, roots, eggs, small animals, hunting with digging stick	(+)	+
Cutting up of small game	(+)	+
Preparation of manioc (harvest, pressing and cooking)		+
Preparation of drinks		+
Fire — Production	+	
Fire — Transportation		+
Cutting down wood	+	+
Construction of huts	+	
Construction of the shelters	+	+
Utensils: axes, knives, spears, graters, burins, drills	+	
Weaving	+	
Rope making	+	
Weaving and basket making; straw work	+	
Ceramics		+
Preparation of gourds		+
Mortars		+
Recipients of leaves or of bark	+	
Beads, necklaces, bracelets, earrings		+
Finery of feathers and of furs	+	
Musical Instruments	+	
Balls	+	
Vegetable dyes		+
Preparation of poisons and of blowguns	+	
Collection of medicinal plants	+	+
Weapons	+	

1:Levi-Strauss-66 E-5 (1988-1989)948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

601 The Indians do not seem to perceive
602 the specific nature of certain inter-individual relationships except in
[123] the case of relationships of stepmother and stepfather, as will be seen farther on. Nevertheless, the very great liberty which reigns between a man and his wife on one hand, and his brothers-in-law on the other, contrasts greatly with the more serious and dull character of his dealings with his sisters or his (theoretical) wives. This reserve goes to the point of forbidding the verbal expression of the relationship of potential spouses among the children to a certain degree. In the
[124] course of our interrogations, we have always found it difficult to obtain an answer from the interested parties themselves or from their close relatives when the relationship was that of husband and wife (1).

1. The Indian questioned answers that he "does not know" or changes the subject of conversation.

However, there was no case where the exact answer was not given after several evasive words, or an affectation of ignorance, or an attitude of ill will. But however slight the prohibition (the exact information seems to be considered rather as an impropritey or an
[355] indelicacy), it is no less odd because of it, since children classed as potential spouses behave often, and very openly, as such, without anyone objecting to it.

595 Several times we have alluded to polygamy, concrete examples
462 of which were analyzed on the occasion of the study of the kinship systems. Among the Nambikwara, polygamy represents a general tendency limited by the quantity of available women, and a prerogative existing among the chiefs of the groups, the shamans, or outstanding personalities. From this point of view, it springs from the study of command, and we shall return to this when this problem is tackled. Whenever it exists, polygamy is not a substitute for monogamous marriage, it is added to it without suppressing it. An individual begins by marrying one single woman, and upon the occasion of his social advancement, or of happy occasions, it is suitable for him to add some companions. But a very clear distinction, even though it is not sanctioned by the vocabulary of kinship (2), is

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601 2. To characterize the functions of the first wife, an informant (A6) once used the term asiẽtu atoyerelisu (a1); to designate the supplementary wives, another informant (B1) mentioned a form nukẽnãtere, which could be a feminine of nukẽnãtore (b1), "companion," a term which the chief uses to designate the men of his group. But the

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sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

595 established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first
462 wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of
[252 the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts.
262] She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably classed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and com-
[515] pany. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable
[832 jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling
524] in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridnakititu, al).

595 The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition
182 of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

846 784 1. She wears no decoration or ornament;

[107] 2. She does not touch food, neither to harvest it, to gather it, to prepare it nor to cook it;

3. She speaks to no one and no one says a word to her;

4. She avoids groups and when curiosity draws her toward our circle, she attends the distribution and exchange of gifts from a distance and in silence. If someone gives her or her husband a present (for example some beads), it is immediately given to the baby;

5. Every day she receives her food from her mother (a18), who gives it to her without speaking, and occupies herself with certain cares of the baby such as delousing it;

6. She does not bathe in the river, but washes herself with the water which she herself goes to draw in a gourd;

7. She goes away with her husband, sometimes for whole days, and, upon departure, follows him at a distance without saying a word; on these occasions, she takes the baby along;

A21 behaves similarly:

1. He does not go with the masculine group when they go hunting or gardening;

2. He rarely goes away, and then with his wife. The rest of the time he spends stretched out without taking part in any creative activity; *they say he is ill* (*inkaltu*);

3. In the degree to which he and his wife perform the most [162] indispensable activities, there is no division of labor between them. Either one buries the baby's excrement, or places in the coals the manioc received by a22 and a18 which constitutes their sole nourishment. Both are extremely thin, and appear very weak; their hair has not been cut or washed for a long time.

Toward June 20, 1938, this behavior was modified. For three consecutive days A21 and a22 disappeared for the whole day, doubtless to hunt, for, after several fruitless trips, they return (June 23 at 15 o'clock) with the following small game:

a. An irara (Mustela sp.);

b. Three bats;

c. Two lizards and their eggs.

846 252 The irara and the bats have already been put over the flame to burn off the hair. a22 begins immediately—and for the first time—to clean and crush a small quantity of manioc and she quickly puts a cake under the coals. At the same time she puts the broken lizard eggs there, and [108] takes them out barely cooked; she divides

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
621 forest which lines its banks. Except during the planting and harvesting season the members of the band are on the move up and down the narrow confines of the territory. Within this hunting territory they have camping places rather than villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaiáre*. Any place where the band or a family may stop overnight is known as *sáiare*. At present the
342 Wakítiau band has one house (*síre*) at the place
621 where it is farming. The entire band occupies the house, each family having its own fire around
[513] which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men gather around another fire. Julio informed me that their house is rectangular with stake walls and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some years ago when the band was larger he said they occupied a different place on which they built three houses. These houses were built by placing a series of saplings into the ground to form an oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole, the framework being covered with sapé or palm fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small fire hut (*sinaiáhárare*) and, when the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sikiáwire*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting the band or the family may build a temporary brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a windbreak (*nanáwit*) is considered sufficient. On warm nights during the dry season the group camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some distance away and small huts are put up for the workers. As the distance increases the old camp site is eventually abandoned and a new campsite is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks, beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
415 furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are carried by the women. The Wakítiau do not

Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Cocozu and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there: Nuleke, Kriiricoinerã (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. "sloth], Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Uaintaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Cocozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true. She gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is